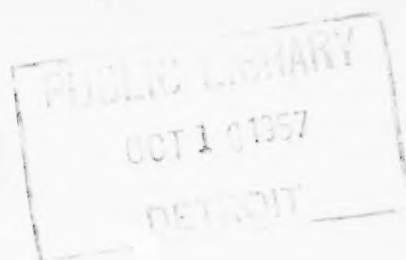


PHILOSOPHY,  
RELIGION AND  
EDUCATION

# CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

*A Christian Journal of Opinion*



## The Courage of Self-Restraint

Perhaps the most striking feature of the September developments surrounding the attempts at integration in the upper South and border states has been the remarkable behavior of the Negroes, parents and children, who have made the breakthrough. The actual number of Negro students enrolling in white schools is in no case large, and in some states constitutes only a token compliance.

The important matter, however, has been the quality of the bearing of Negro citizens within an ominous and electric atmosphere. The manner in which both militant courage and poised self-restraint have been combined is truly magnificent.

On the one hand, Negro parents have been called on to defy the hostile sentiments of the white majority and to petition school boards, who mainly prefer segregation, for reassignment of their children to non-segregated schools when certainly the path of least resistance would be to "go along with the white folks" and accept the status quo. At the same time, where integration has started the Negro children are asked to run the gamut of hostility, to confront every possible kind of insult, and, when reviled, to revile not in return. It is to the credit of the school boards of many communities that they took pains to choose students of more than usual caliber for the initial steps in the upper grades. It is to the even greater credit of the Negro children themselves that their bearing has been poised and calm. It is almost too much to ask of human nature, especially at the age of adolescence when acceptance by the crowd is of first importance, that these students find themselves required to bear this responsibility and play this role in the tense drama of suffering and redemption.

In the tremulous weeks of the opening of

school, there must have been many fierce internal battles of faith with prejudice in the school yards and registration lines and many instances of quiet courage on the part of both white and Negro students which the journalistic camera did not catch. In any case, the pacific behavior of almost all the Negro students completely upsets the standard stereotype of the white racist who associates Negroes automatically with razor fights. The onus of responsibility for mob violence is seen clearly to fall on the white opponents of the new order.

The role played by the local churches in all this has been largely one of cautious inaction. But there are not a few points where the strong leadership of the churches can be detected in these incidents. In Little Rock, for instance, a panel of Negro ministers, anticipating the breakthrough, counselled with Negro students to exercise self-restraint. "It is not cowardly to ignore slurring remarks," one of them said, and apparently his listeners agreed. In Nashville, local church bodies spoke forthrightly in advance of registration, urging the support by the citizenry of the first steps toward integration.

There is great opportunity for church leadership, lay and clerical, at this point. Even in situations where the situation is fluid and the sentiments for compliance are mixed with the sentiments for resistance, there is perilously little communication between Negro and white leadership. Yet there is no clearer lesson to be learned than that successful integration can be carried off only by patient and painstaking preparation ahead of time. It is within the life and program of the churches that the most relevant kind of education can be carried on, to exorcise the demon of prejudice, to examine segregation and integration by

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the standard of Christian justice, to create a climate of opinion in the community receptive to the new order, and to prepare the minds of white youths for acts of consideration and courtesy, in schoolyard and classroom, to match the courage and self-discipline of the Negro newcomers. W.B.

## NEW POLICIES FOR NEW PLACES

LAST AUTUMN American foreign policy was widely criticized for lack of decisiveness in the Middle East. Critics maintained that Soviet penetration of the area could have been averted even as late as the summer of 1956 had the Eisenhower administration forcefully sought a concert of Western and friendly Arab powers. Especially our European friends were nearly unanimous in their impatience with what they characterized as American moralism, vacillation and inaction.

Ironically, however, the tables have been turned and today's reactions to recent attempts to implement the Eisenhower Doctrine are strikingly at odds with these earlier indictments. Britain's one-time commander of Jordan's Arab Legion, the seasoned Arabist, Lt. General Sir John Glubb (Glubb Pasha), writes: "I can't help doubting whether the United States airlift of more weapons to Middle East countries was really the best move. . . . It gave the Russians yet another opportunity to put over the line that America is trying to dominate them by force and that Soviet friendship offers are purely altruistic friendship."

The sharply critical *New Statesmen and Nation* suggests: "From its inception the Eisenhower Doctrine was an antiquated piece of cold war machinery incapable of dealing with a situation which called for the subtle tactics and long-term strategy of the age of 'peaceful competition.'" The more moderate and pro-American *Economist* warns: "The method adopted by the United States to help Jordan has not the necessary stamp of subtlety. Indeed it suggests a wrong analysis of the job at hand. . . . The very phrase 'airlift' carries an echo of the feat that saved West Berlin from communism in 1948. It is dangerous to imagine that what worked in Europe would work in Asia; the two technical operations could be the same, but the psychological one is totally different. Whereas the West Berliners were brimming over with readiness to sign the anti-communist pledge . . . the thoughts of most Arabs are quite other."

It is tempting to Americans to discount such

judgments, prompted as they must be by all those complex and unconscious emotions of a people who have seen authority pass from their hands in an area once their exclusive province. If we look at our problems in this way, we discover a stubborn truth embedded in one frequently extravagant but recurrent charge. We are told repeatedly that recent American foreign policy has lacked a doctrine and rationale that was subtle and penetrating enough to cope with the succession of novel and baffling problems that dominate the second decade of the postwar world.

The Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine carried conviction because their rock-bottom objective of resisting Russian expansion was grounded upon a genuine community of interest in the West. The invisible threads of Anglo-Saxon unity and the traditions of Western civilization bound together more than a score of nations and prepared them to accept a security based no less upon an American atomic screen than upon their combined forces in being. This security, and with it economic development, was dependent upon freedom from Soviet intervention.

For American foreign policy today in almost every corner of the world this fortuitous relationship between the objectives of many nations and their incentives to resist Soviet imperialism appears more obscure. The goals of regimes which have the greatest stake in holding back the spread of Russian influence provide a far more tenuous community of interests with their own peoples, let alone those who seek to join them. The tender feelings and sensitivity of Arab rulers about appearing to align themselves too closely with Western forces, who nonetheless guarantee their remaining in power, is a barometer of the absence of community. National purposes and social inclinations of many of the Middle Eastern states are fundamentally different from those of the West. And since foreign policy takes shape from the threat to a nation's security, the fact that the real threat is conceived to be Israel, and not Russia, is of greatest moment. The chief goals in life of the Arab peoples are nationalism, which involves liberation from powers who would make them tools in their struggles, and economic development, which can mean overturning regimes who have no programs of social equality or make no pretense of narrowing the gap between rich and poor. Emergency shipments of arms to stop the Russians

are scarcely the most popular and dramatic contributions to these goals especially when accompanied by moral pronouncements.

It is in this context that American foreign policy has concerns and dilemmas that are more baffling than those of earlier days. On one hand, the United States can hardly stand idly by in the face of Soviet penetration in the Middle East, particularly with Europe largely stabilized and Soviet-Chinese rivalries reducing, for the present at least, Russian opportunities in Asia. On the other hand, we cannot, with any prospect of success, react mechanically to threats of Soviet domination in Syria or Egypt by slavishly imitating strategies whose only virtue is that they have succeeded elsewhere. The Middle East is not Europe. Therefore, American policy-makers must find a way to resist Soviet imperialism and eventually help redefine at least some of the goals of those potential friends we have in the area without forever lecturing the Arabs about the need for armaments, alliances and bases to halt communism. It has been said that the Russians are more subtle, if also more disingenuous, in asking no more in exchange for their aid than neutrality in the "cold war." The issue for the West is whether or not we can find a similarly convincing yet responsible formula for turning to account "the two main emotions that govern Arab moves—nationalism with its long-established hostility to the West and to Israel, and socialism with its bias against the propertied and ruling class." Perhaps the policy planners in Washington—if there are any left—will yet sharpen their pencils and turn to this task with the same imagination that brought answers to our earlier postwar problems. If not, an unlimited arms race, governed not only by the great powers but by the unpredictable calculations of weak and hard-pressed Arab governments uncertain of their popular support and authority, could easily lead to disaster. KENNETH W. THOMPSON

### BAD DAYS AT LITTLE ROCK

THE FIRES OF history require inflammable material and a match. The match is usually put to the inflammable material inadvertently, and at times irresponsibly. In the case of the Little Rock riots, the vain ambitions of the governor supplied the match. His actions made the difference between Little Rock and Louisville, Ky., for instance. There were fewer Negroes in Little Rock than in Louisville. But integration proceeded smoothly a year ago in Louisville because every official from governor to school superintendent

proceeded with caution and a sense of responsibility.

The power of custom at odds with the law was illustrated in Little Rock on the Sunday before the fateful Monday. On that day, Negro worshippers were turned away from white churches without the help of the national guard. We mention the incident because it proves that the Christian faith, in its collective expressions, is as liable to sanctify custom as to support the law even though it has more in common with the law than with the custom of a region.

Perhaps the President, inadvertently, helped to supply the match for the fire, which he tried to extinguish by the formidable display of armed might. Perhaps he was too considerate and kind to Governor Faubus in that famous Newport conference. Perhaps if he had been firmer in the beginning he would not have had to be so firm in the end. He was right in insisting that the majesty of the law must be upheld when it is threatened by mob violence. But even a northern liberal must agree with the people of the South in a distaste for the use of Federal troops in domestic situations. It reminds the South of dreaded reconstruction days. It reminds the rest of us that the majesty of the law is upheld but obscured when armed might is necessary to uphold it.

One consoling fact in the miserable situation is that the Federal troops did not have to use force to protect the Negro children. The show of force was sufficient to bring a community to its senses. This is merely a vivid example of the curious compound which constitutes the authority of government and makes statecraft such an art, rather than a science. For the authority of government is derived from both prestige and force. If it is derived only from force men alternate between the fear of anarchy and the fear of tyranny. They usually choose the latter to escape the former.

If government lacks sufficient prestige, although not completely, it can compensate for the loss of prestige by the show of force. Thus Little Rock was shamed by the troops without the firing of a shot. Unfortunately the troops may have also done much to harden the hearts of the racists. This proves that the President was probably more right in July, when he said that he could not imagine a situation which would prompt him to use Federal troops, than he was in September when he was prompted to use them. But no one can be too critical of a decent man who is practicing a very refined art of properly mixing prestige and force to assert the authority of government.

R. N.



## Reflections on U. S. Foreign Policy

MARKUS BARTH

*The following article is a condensation of a paper read before the Christian Frontier Fellowship in Chicago last spring. Readers are invited to comment on this expression of an outlook common among many Christians outside the United States.*

THREE ELEMENTS of U. S. foreign policy can be discerned. They are as mutually inclusive, though seemingly logically exclusive, as the three parts of the Apostles' Creed: (1) belief in the factual bipartition of the world, (2) belief in the concept of world leadership, and (3) belief in the progressive perfection of man. These are political equivalents to certain doctrines of sin, salvation and eschatology. In less theological terms, they are an attempt to overcome an underlying fatalism by a good portion of self-confidence and idealist optimism.

### Bipartition of the World

Christians are supposed to know that between righteousness and iniquity there is no partnership or agreement (II Cor. 6:14-16). Jesus Christ has come not to bring peace on earth, but rather division (Luke 12:51). Even in the individual Christian, a war between sin and righteousness is continual (Rom. 7:23). So much for biblical doctrine. If we add that in folklore and cowboy movies, as well as in a traditional Calvinistic concept of predestination, the good and the bad are always clearly distinct and in most cases easily recognized, a sharp and simple picture appears: there are white sheep and black sheep in the world; there is no middle choice between the two herds; and gray sheep had better quickly join the white flock.

Is this still biblical, or is it watered down, folklore Christianity—ancient myth and Victorian morality in perfect pious harmony? It is certainly one of the underlying trends of American foreign policy which seems to commend it to many Christian circles in this country and to the "Christian" parties of Europe. International Communism is the black buck; Western democracy is the stainless sheep. So the Eisenhower Doctrine declares the warding off of the Communist threat to be the decisive motive of all actions, and its aim seems to lie in securing as many Near Eastern states as possible for the camp of the West. It is apparently not considered possible that dilemmas and problems other than the East-West controversy may exist and be of higher concern for Israel and the Arab nations, for Europe and Australia, for India

and Africa, or that what lies in the best interest of most of the Bandung nations may call for a solution independent of both the Eastern and the Western blocs' present goals. The present policy is the consistent continuation of that line which is marked by the coalition and armament (or rearmament) of the NATO and SEATO powers against the members and sympathizers of the Warsaw pact, a policy which makes hypocritical all the big words in favor of the "United" Nations.

The East blames the West as vigorously as the West blames the East for forcing the division of the world. Living in the West, we do not doubt that Communist actions in Czechoslovakia, Korea, Indo-China and Hungary (not to mention communist plans, proclamations and organizations) have necessitated and justify the bipartition. But we have only our own spectacles to look through. How coming generations will describe post-World War II history we cannot know. We should admit that by labeling only the Communists as guilty, we recognize that theirs is the initiative and that they determine our policies.

Now, if Communism is the Devil while we are the sons of light, is it wise and necessary to accept our rule of action from the Evil One alone? It leads us to the most contradictory reactions. We minimize the abrogation of international contracts by Nasser, or the long little war of Egypt against Israel and become passionate only when the inescapable consequences become apparent in greater warlike actions. We pretend to promote democracy, while we cooperate with Franco and blandish King Saud. We quickly overlook the bloodshed Britain and France caused in Egypt, while continuing to see red when we think of Budapest. We try to win the friendship of the Bandung nations by wooing them with the same military, economic, political and moralist penetration which made the European colonial powers so fateful to them. All righteousness and only righteousness are not on the Western side of the iron fence. Our reactions against the atrocities and passions of the East do not make our actions righteous. Our vice and mistake may be that we consider justifiable and righteous a nervous policy of reaction against other people's shrewd initiative and that we attempt to

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contaminate the as yet neutral powers with our attitude.

The price is paid by the little peoples: the Arab refugees and the Israeli state foremost, but also those nations who receive air bases rather than economic help or political strings attached to economic help rather than encouragement to follow an independent way. The younger nations see too few unselfish deeds to trust our loud propaganda for the virtues of Western democracy more than the promises of Russia.

According to the Bible, God's way of looking at the world and ruling mankind is not so simple. He "saw that *all* flesh had corrupted their way (Gen. 6:12), and he "desires *all* men to be saved" (II Tim. 2:4). For that purpose he sent Jesus Christ to be the mediator between himself, who alone is good, and us miserable men. Should it be impossible for powerful policies to be made with the purpose, not to react *against* what is considered evil, but to step into the gap and mediate? Even if most present Western governments prefer to continue the way of bipartition, it remains the mission of all churches and Christians on both sides to avoid aiding and augmenting the split, to stand imperturbably in the midst, and to strengthen those nations and voices that choose a third way. This way has been nicknamed neutralist and decried as utopian. But Jesus Christ the mediator was neither neutral in questions of good and evil, nor unrealistic in his unique way of dealing with human walls of partition. Faith in him and his work will keep us from the ways of the pharisees to the right and to the left.

### World Leadership

Christians know and proclaim that there is but one maker and ruler of heaven and earth: God. History and the spiritual and material treasures of the earth are God's, given, dominated, weighed only by him. The Son of God who came into the world as true man has revealed that man and his cause are not too bad, too little, too much exposed to horror and error to be redeemed for the life of a free, responsive, social child. God's gracious election of man, made and manifested in Jesus Christ, makes men willing and ready to "fill and subdue" the earth (Gen 1:28) and to enjoy dominion over the animals. Men are called to do this as servants and yet as children of God, in community with neighbors of all races, for the benefit of those who are frightened by death, hunger, destruction, slavery.

And now, according to a *Life* editorial last February, the U. S. feels "thrust to new peaks of world

leadership" to be "the natural leader of the free world." How this feeling can be *justified* in the light of the biblical promise of world dominion which is given to *all* men, we will not discuss. The call to leadership must certainly be *explained* less as an age-long presumption of the U. S. than as an imposed burden. Twice within a generation Europe needed American help to be freed from imperialist or fascist dangers. Isolationism had to be overcome twice before the U. S. could come to the aid of war-torn Europe. Little wonder that the U. S. is regarded as the savior and stronghold of democracy. In the past the U. S. has indeed successfully *defended* democracy, a merit too easily forgotten by some of my fellow Europeans who consider only the economic development and wealth gained by the defender.

But several things were already changing before World War II, alterations which suddenly gave the cause of democracy an aggressive, if not imperialist, pace:

(1) The theory and practice of "democracy" was split into two mutually exclusive interpretations. America had reason to proclaim and promote Western democracy against "people's democracy" in the East.

(2) Even Western democracies were gradually changed by the requirements and inclinations of the welfare state. Though preserving liberties in the political, economic and moral realm, deep crises led the Western democracies to transfer many responsibilities to the state and to restrict enterprises which formerly seemed indisputable and indispensable privileges of free citizens.

(3) Democracy became an article for export. Nations outside the U. S. were encouraged, helped and subsidized to find forms of government similar to that of the United States. The unconditional surrender demanded in World War II crowned this development.

(4) The attempt to insure the existence and expansion of Western democracy by air bases on non-American soil around the orbit of the Communist powers is a new method of winning friends for democracy. Like economic aid programs in the so-called underdeveloped countries, it is not meant, but is often understood, to be an imperialist trick to dominate, rather than protect, the world.

The tragic Hungarian revolution has shown that American superiority in arms did not save one freedom fighter's life. More likely, blind trust in the readiness and efficiency of America's military power may have precipitated and increased the Hungarian catastrophe.

(5) While the U. S. promoted, yet did not join,

the League of Nations, it has become a leading member of the U. N. It has also bound itself to other nations through NATO and SEATO. Each partner is weaker than the U. S. in political, military and economic matters. It is still to be seen whether the U. S. cares for these weaker partners only insofar as they are willing to support the U. S.'s own political (i.e., anti-Communist) propositions, or whether it is willing to support them also when a peculiarly Israeli, British, Australian or Central European interest is at stake.

God gave man dominion and rulership over the animals. But political enemies, despite all apocalyptic visions and satiric caricatures, are not wild or demonic animals; political allies call for more respect than a farmer's good cow or a cowboy's dear horse; countries refuse to be treated as primitive races who must be bred, vaccinated, sterilized and trained for the sake of greater usefulness or productivity. Any nation's claim to world leadership spoils the international coexistence which is a presupposition of peace. World leadership is an imperialist invention which treats other nations like animals to be dominated, rather than as co-human to be respected as Christ's redeemed and as our brothers.

We must ask ourselves whether the idea of world leadership—whether arising by the power of suggestion or from our own creative thinking—is not, *mutatis mutandis*, a copy of the idea and methods of Communist world revolution? It certainly creates nothing but jealousy and fear. But, most of all: it interferes directly with the kingship of God. True democracy is possible only where one absolute Lord is recognized as king. Confidence in his rulership leads to a democratic, not aristocratic or fascist, treatment of international affairs. Only God in his covenant with Israel can be an unequal partner—Lord, master, judge, yet fully friend, brother and servant of the weaker partner. Man-made covenants can only be stable when no partner presumes God's or the worldleader's role. It may be the peculiar burden and responsibility of the U. S. to be mightier, richer, more successful than any other nation has ever been. But she need not therefore choose the fate of the many pretensive great kings and world rulers of ancient and modern times. Under God's grace, time is given to awake from an undemocratic dream of leadership.

### Perfection

Christians are sure of two things: God alone is perfect, and we are called to be as perfect as our father in heaven. However, different opinions exist in regard to God's ways of making his children

perfect and with respect to the traces, means and tests of God's will in history. Without producing arguments, we will assume that the Sermon on the Mount, as a call to repentance extended to all self-righteous people and as a promise of peace for all the poor children of God, is still valid; that the righteousness of God is not a system of moral values, but the power of God through Christ to make right the affairs and life of wicked men; that God's grace is real, though surprising and often scandalous to us in his primary concern for the poor and needy. This presupposition will keep us from such self-glorification and advertisement as is all too noisily made in our time through the channels of political propaganda.

If perfection is not our possession, if it is only by and from God, we are called and encouraged to pray for and to make manifest decisions such as the following:

(1) We may become open to revision of our own political thought and action. We are not bound to slavish consistency with yesterday's decisions, nor are we pledged to deny that oil and other interests not specifically Christian are as strong in Western as in Eastern politics.

(2) We may recognize the unique plight and right of the Jews within every country and as a nation in the world. Unless we do all in the conviction that Israel—both the minority all over the world and the young Israeli state—is here to stay, we deny and fight the election of the gracious God from which we have our faith and life.

(3) We may feel bound to help (not master) the young nations, especially the Arab peoples, and the old European states that are paying so heavily for the misconceptions and misdeeds of the colonialist centuries.

(4) We may trust in values that cannot be measured statistically. True love cannot be bought; true perfection will only be revealed in God's judgment.

Only a fool would close his eyes to the traces of such readiness, recognition and obligation in American *criticism* of the policies made since World War II. But I think it remains the churches' and every Christian's great mission to remind themselves and the authorities that be of that perfection which is identical with justification and sanctification by God. Faith in God leads to new, maybe revolutionary, decisions in the political field and to a new approach to nebulous and complex problems. What I have here attempted to say should be understood as a reminder of that gracious and liberating righteousness which overcomes all saturation by self-righteousness.



## CORRESPONDENCE

### POAU Replies to Mr. Sanders

TO THE EDITORS: Mr. Tom G. Sanders, writing in your September 16 issue, concedes that Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, in its ten-year history "deserves credit for alerting people to Catholic legal violations in the United States and attacks on human dignity in other countries." He then criticizes POAU in a manner difficult to answer because the criticism consists almost wholly of unsupported opinions. Mr. Sanders purportedly confines his "research" to our *Church and State*, but he never quotes from it or from any literature of the organization. There is no indication that he has read even one of the many pamphlets and published speeches which comprise an important part of the organization's literary output. Certainly he has never come to our national office, or interviewed officials, or attended a national conference.

POAU is an action organization. It cannot be judged exclusively by academic standards. It must arouse citizens to resist sectarian encroachments upon the public treasury. To do this effectively it must point out the grievances it seeks to eliminate. Mr. Sanders does not indicate how these issues could be met except through some such democratic, citizens' organization as POAU. . . .

Mr. Sanders charges that POAU has never defined "separation." He has not read *Without Fear or Favor*, a statement prepared for a Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights and a basic document of POAU. Pages 1-4 give our comprehensive definition of Church-State separation. There is also a definitive statement on page 10 of our *Manifesto*. We believe these definitions are more complete than anything yet published by *Christianity and Crisis* or any church group. These statements, too lengthy to quote here, rather clearly define our position. It is true, of course, that the frontier between Church and State in our society is long and rugged. One cannot always state quickly and simply the desirable location of all outposts.

I flatly repudiate and deeply resent the suggestion of Mr. Sanders that POAU is only interested in opposing Catholics. We do often find ourselves in opposition to this group on Church-State issues. This is due to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is a large and powerful institution that is systematically trying to break down the Supreme Court's interpretation of the First Amendment to secure tax appropriations for its schools.

Mr. Sanders mentions none of the instances in which we have defended religious rights of Roman Catholics. . . . There is no mention of Protestant legal violations with which POAU has dealt, though much information has been published in *Church and State* from time to time and in *Without Fear or Favor*.

In opposing the hierarchy on the subsidy issue it has been useful to show that its demands for public funds are a matter of world-wide policy, that this policy is made outside the United States by an authoritarian organization which gives the

Catholic people of this country no opportunity to decide their own policy on education, marriage, divorce, birth control or censorship. To point out these facts is not "unfair" or "nativism." It is simple honesty. . . .

There is much in the field of world Catholicism that has eluded Mr. Sanders. That church is still monolithic whenever the Pope wants it to be. The papacy has never repudiated the Church-State philosophy of Leo XIII, "Liberal" interpretations of that philosophy (e.g. Fr. John Courtney Murray) have not been endorsed at Rome.

A recent authoritative Catholic work, *Concept of Freedom*, by the Dean of the School of Sacred Theology of Catholic University (the only pontifical university in the U. S.) justifies Franco's restrictions on Protestants in Spain (p. 464). . . .

It is clear that any permissive liberalism depends on papal approval as to its expediency. Freedom is offered to non-Catholics not as a basic right but as a tactical concession.

Mr. Sanders makes the amazing claim: "There is no American prelate or theologian writing today who does not subscribe heartily to the American expression of Freedom of religion and conscience in the First Amendment. . ." But this freedom as interpreted by the Supreme Court certainly includes the American citizen's freedom from financial levies to support a church to which his conscience does not subscribe. On this point the Catholic press and hierarchy are unanimous in opposing the First Amendment. Every *National Catholic Almanac* for the last three years (1957, p. 476; 1956, p. 468; 1955, p. 349) has charged that the First Amendment as interpreted by the Supreme Court and the various state laws which prohibit tax aid to sectarian schools are "unjust and discriminatory."

Mr. Sanders seems to advocate surrender to Roman Catholic demands at the point of "secondary aid" for their schools. He does not define what he means and the lack of definition is serious. Anyone actually facing these problems soon discovers that it is virtually impossible to draw any line between "secondary aid" to parochial schools, whatever that is, and "primary aid." For example, Catholic leaders have repeatedly stressed that school construction is part of "health and welfare" aid. The POAU position is clear and consistent: it would hold the barrier against all tax support of sectarian schools.

Mr. Sanders: "POAU . . . presses for its panacea, the secularized school system." This is not true. What we have done is to prevent the Roman Catholic Church from imposing its panacea—indoctrination in its dogma—upon all pupils in many public schools. Nor is it true that we have "opposed state laws permitting coordinate relations between parochial schools and local communities." We have, rather, sought to secure enforcement of laws which do prohibit domination of public schools by one religious group and the support of its indoctrination program from tax funds. We have defended the public schools against sectarian encroachment not because we are seeking to "impose secularism," but because we do not care to see

competing school systems and a country divided into rigid and antagonistic enclaves.

We of POAU are not against religion. We honestly see more peril in the State's over-indulgence of the Church than in its deprivation. We of POAU are for a principle. We are for the free situation under which all our churches have been equal before the law with official favors and tax funds to none. We believe in voluntarism in church membership and finance. We believe that our constitutional pattern of Church-State relations has been a happy one for our pluralistic culture and that departure from it will have evil consequences.

GLENN L. ARCHER  
Executive Director, POAU  
Washington, D. C.

*Dr. Archer's initial criticism of my article questions my research. Since most POAU pamphlets have been written by individuals and should properly be taken as their opinions, it seemed appropriate to evaluate POAU from its official bulletin, Church and State. I had read previously the pamphlets mentioned in his letter, and in spite of Dr. Archer's faulty memory I raised some of my criticisms with him in a conversation of about a year ago. Unfortunately, and I share Dr. Archer's regret, it was necessary to cut some documentation, as well as POAU's definition of separation in its Manifesto, from the original article because of limits on the length of articles in Christianity and Crisis.*

*To seek to understand two elements of any organization—its objectives and its methods—is not academic, but eminently practical. Our disagreement actually concerns what the important issues between Catholics and Protestants are. POAU has created additional tensions (1) by its objective—an excessive separation between religion and public life, and (2) by its method—construction of a distorted image of Catholicism in America, which is peddled by those eager to snatch up such wares and who injure Protestantism as a result.*

*How has POAU used separation ambiguously? Dr. Archer, for example, in his printed speech, "The Ramparts We Watch," points to "the legal concept of Church-State separation, the only safe-*

*guard of religious peace," but in his letter he stands for the situation in which "our churches have been equal before the law with official favors and tax funds to none." How can Dr. Archer support the traditional and present-day relationship between Church and State and at the same time deny tax funds to any churches? Elementary observation would reveal that federal and state governments have generously supported religion by tax exemption and by indirect contributions (such as chaplains, hospitals, buses for parochial students, etc.) at all periods of American history and this type of relationship, not a wall of separation, is the legal concept of Church-State separation. POAU does not support the legal concept, but obviously has as its objective the ending of any relationship between religion and public institutions. Reflective Protestants recognize these implications and feel that minimal patronization of this type and some recognition of the place of religion in public education and public life, based on the assumption by the state that religion is a good thing, should not be ended. . . .*

*Any thoughtful Protestant would agree with Dr. Archer that there are many problems involved in secondary aid. Responsible Catholics are, however, quite willing to discuss these and other issues with responsible Protestants. POAU's absolutistic position on separation and its incitement of fanaticism by failing to understand the dynamics of American Catholicism place it in a position where not merely Catholics, but many Protestants would find a tolerable adjustment of our Church-State and church-church problems difficult to reach.*

TOM G. SANDERS

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